

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 OES-07 NRC-05 ERDA-05 ACDA-07  
AF-10 ARA-06 CIAE-00 EA-07 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02  
PA-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-06 CU-02 BIB-01 /134 W  
-----130119Z 080209 /70

R 121902Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2775  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
USMISSION NATO  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR  
DIA WASHDC  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION GENEVA  
CINCLANT  
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX  
AMCONSUL LYON  
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE  
AMCONSUL NICE  
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AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 14131

MILITARY ADDRESSEES FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: FR, PFOR, PINT  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST STATEMENT ON NATIONAL DEFENSE  
AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS

SUMMARY. IN A LENGTHY REPORT ISSUED FOLLOWING APPROVAL BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AT ITS MAY 11 MEETING, THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCF) STATES PUBLICLY FOR THE FIRST TIME THAT IT ACCEPTS THE FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCE (FORCE DE FRAPPE) AS A NECESSARY ELEMENT IN FRENCH DEFENSE. THE PCF CONTENDS THAT DUE TO THE CURRENT INADEQUACY OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES, THE NUCLEAR FORCE IS THE ONLY EFFECTIVE DEFENSE WHICH EXISTS FOR FRANCE. ELABORATING THIS NEW POSITION, POLITBURO MEMBER KANAPA IS EXTREMELY HARSH IN HIS CRITICISM OF THE FRG AND ADAMANT IN ARGUING AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF FRG ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. END SUMMARY.

1. THE NUCLEAR FORCE AS SEEN BY THE PCF: IN RATIONALIZING THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECISION TO ACCEPT THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE UNDER A LEFT GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCE, THE PCF CENTRAL COMMITTEE ARGUED FIRST THAT THE NUCLEAR FORCE MUST BE ACCEPTED SIMPLY BECAUSE IT EXISTS, AND SECONDLY THAT SINCE FRENCH CONVENTIONAL FORCES HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO DETERIORATE TO SUCH A LEVEL AS TO BE AN INEFFECTIVE DEFENSE, ONLY THE NUCLEAR DETERRENT REMAINS AS A CREDIBLE DEFENSE. THIS POSITION, OF WHICH SIGNS HAD BEEN SEEN OVER THE PAST YEAR, IS A DEPARTURE FROM THE TRADITIONAL ANTI-NUCLEAR POSITION OF THE PCF AND FROM THE LANGUAGE OF THE COM-

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MON PROGRAM AS ENUNCIATED IN 1972 IN WHICH THE UNION OF THE LEFT RENOUNCED THE NUCLEAR FORCE IN ANY FORM. THE PCF HAS, HOWEVER, REMOVED ONE MORE POINT OF DISSENSION WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY (PS), WHICH HAD ITSELF RECOGNIZED THE NUCLEAR FORCE AS A FAIT ACCOMPLI IN NOVEMBER 1976. THE PCF POSITION CALLS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE EXISTING FORCE AT THE MINIMUM LEVEL NECESSARY FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE COUNTRY BUT IS AMBIVALENT AS TO WHETHER THE QUALITY OF THE FORCE CAN OR WILL BE IMPROVED. THE DOCUMENT, APPROVED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, NOTES FOR EXAMPLE THAT THE PCF IS AGAINST "NUCLEAR ARMS ALWAYS MORE PERFECTED, MORE NUMEROUS, MORE DEADLY" AND SAYS FURTHER THAT THERE IS NO QUESTION OF AUGMENTING THE MILITARY BUDGET TO IMPROVE CONVENTIONAL FORCES AND THUS OBIVATE THE NEED FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN LIGHT OF THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COSTS REQUIRED BY THE COMMON PROGRAM. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, KANAPA NOTES PARENTHETICALLY THAT MAINTENANCE OF THE NUCLEAR FORCE INCLUDES SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS.

2. NUCLEAR STRATEGY: THE CORE OF PCF POLICY IS THAT THE NUCLEAR FORCE MUST BE TOTALLY INDEPENDENT AND USED ONLY IN THE DEFENSE OF THE NATIONAL TERRITORY. THE PCF CALLS FOR THE FRENCH NUCLEAR ARMS TO BE USED STRICTLY IN A DETERRENT ROLE, UNDER A DOCTRINE OF "TOUS AZIMUTHS" DEFENSE (OMNIDIRECTIONAL) WHICH WOULD REPLACE WHAT THE PCF CALLS THE EXISTING "FORWARD BATTLE" STRATEGY, AIMED SOLELY AGAINST SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. KANAPA ALSO CALLED FOR ABANDONING THE ANTI-CITY STRATEGY, WITHOUT EXPLAINING HOW THE FRENCH FORCE WOULD BE CREDIBLE IN ANY OTHER ROLE.

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PA-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-06 CU-02 BIB-01 /134 W  
-----130122Z 080197 /70

R 121902Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2776  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
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AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 14131

IN TERMS OF NUCLEAR HARDWARE, THE PCF AGREES THAT THE SIXTH NUCLEAR SUBMARINE SHOULD BE BUILT BUT THAT THE MIRAGE IV SHOULD NOT BE REPLACED WHEN IT BECOMES OBSOLESCEMENT.

3. COODINATION AND COOPERATION: IN ARGUING FOR COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF THE FRENCH FORCE, THE PCF DOCUMENT CRITICIZES THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT'S POLICY WHICH THE PCF CLAIMS IS LEADING FRANCE MORE AND MORE BACK INTO NATO. FOR EXAMPLE, THE PCF SAYS THAT THE NUCLEAR FORCE IS NOW DEPENDENT ON NATO FOR EARLY WARNING OF ATTACK AND FOR DETERMINATION OF APPROPRIATE STATE OF ALERT. TO BECOME FULLY INDEPENDENT THE PCF FAVORS FRENCH AIRBORNE RADAR PLATFORMS (TO BE USED ONLY DURING PERIODS OF CRISIS) AS WELL AS THREE FRENCH RECONAISSANCE-COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES. THE COMMUNIST REPORT IS VERY HARSH IN ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE FRG AND REITERATES SEVERAL TIMES THAT THE FRG MUST NEVER BE ALLOWED TO OBTAIN NUCLEAR ARMS. IN THIS SENSE WEAPONS STANDARDIZATION IS VIEWED AS A ROAD TO FRG ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR ARMS. IN ADDITION, TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS, I.E. THE PLUTON, MUST NEVER BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE FRENCH SOIL. SHOULD SUCH WEAPONS BE STATIONED OUTSIDE OF FRANCE AS PART OF THE "FORWARD BATTLE" STRATEGY, FRANCE COULD BE DRAWN INTO A NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION CONTRARY TO THE DICTATES OF ITS OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS. SUCH A CONFRONTATION COULD BE INITIATED BY AN FRG WHICH IS STILL UNRESIGNED TO THE EXISTENCE OF THE GDR AND WHICH HAS AT ITS DISPOSAL A FORWARD STRATEGY AIMED ARBITRARILY AT THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES OF EUROPE. IN MORE GENERAL TERMS THE FRG IS

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CHARACTERIZED AS THE SPEARHEAD OF THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM  
IN EUROPE.

4. COMMENT: IN GENERAL THE PCF POSITION IS NOT LIKELY  
TO RAISE ANYTHING RESEMBLING THE FUROR WHICH SURROUND-  
ED THE PUBLICATION OF COMMUNIST ECONOMIC ESTIMATES  
EARLIER THIS WEEK. IN ACCEPTING THE EXISTENCE OF THE  
FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCE, THE PCF HAS COME TO THE ONLY REAL-  
ISTIC ALTERNATIVE, JUST AS THE SOCIALISTS DID SOME MONTH  
AGO. AS WITH THE DECISION TO SUPPORT DIRECT ELECTION TO  
THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THIS DECISION IS LIKEWISE  
VIRTUALLY RISK-FREE. OUTSIDE OF A FEW HARDCORE MILI-  
TANTS WITHIN THE PARTY, THERE WOULD BE VERY LITTLE  
SUPPORT IN FRANCE FOR A DISMANTLING OF THE NUCLEAR  
FORCE.  
GAMMON

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, FR, PCF  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
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